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Our Inheritance



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By Z. WITHERS



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OUR INHERITANCE

By Z. WITHERS
Author of "Slavery Days"



Tribune Publishing Co. Print
Oakland, Cal.
1909

To
HON. JAMES B. FORAKER
United States Senator
THE FRIEND OF MY RACE, BECAUSE THE FRIEND
OF MANKIND

THIS ESSAY, WHICH ARGUES FOR THE
RIGHTS OF MY PEOPLE BEFORE AN
UNBIASED *and* JUST AMERICAN PUBLIC,
IS REGARDFULLY, GRATEFULLY
INSCRIBED

By THE AUTHOR

*Wm
C. Sullivan*



FOREWORD.

THE author of this contribution foreswears the thought of a single line of malice, hatred, or prejudice. In the simple spirit of honesty, which should govern the motives and principles of mankind, I herewith present the subject—Our Inheritance—that in this day of our triumphant march towards wealth, education and power, we shall not forget the trials and sacrifices of our noble forefathers, who bequeathed to us this estate.

We who accept it as our home and country are responsible as grantees of the estate and are bound by the laws of civilization to transmit it to our posterity more advanced, freer and nobler. To promote the welfare of her citizens, to increase the greatness of her power, to remedy wrongs, to insure justice to all men, is a mandate correlative with the exercise of authority, which becomes a responsibility of the nation.

In accepting the grant, all questions pertaining to it, whether political, social or moral, are a part of the estate, and we are constrained by the laws of inheritance to concede their standing and to deal with them in the same high sense of reason as we have dealt with every question that has confronted the nation.

Slavery was a constitutional question and a grave moral wrong. It was one of such enormity that it shook the foundation of the Republic. Like the winds of a fierce hurricane, the war of '61 smote the tree of human bondage and on its mighty apex it swayed and fell; but re-

maining was its firm root of two centuries' growth. Hence the spread of Jim Crowism, or the living spirit of slavery, springs from its live, but submerged, foundation. Therefore, as freeholders of the estate we must deal with the question of Jim Crowism as a result of slavery; which, as a moral blight, affects the character of the Nation as an incentive to lawlessness. Then let Truth be our guide and Justice our motto, that we may bequeath to the distant man a home and a country not cursed with slave-ridden statutes, but rich in its splendor of freedom and happiness. Yours truly,

Z. WITHERS.

The Estate

Chapter I.

BOUNDED on one side by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the other by the Pacific, extending far into the Asiatic waters as far north as Alaska and south to Panama, we have a grand country, over which floats a noble flag. Rich are her blessings of wealth, freedom and opportunities. Her agriculture in a single year nearly exceeds the world's crop. "Agricultural products, 1905, \$1,899,379,652." Her factories are crowding those of Europe and Asia combined. "Manufactured products, 1907, \$15,000,000,000"; and besides, there are teeming millions from her mineral yield. "Mineral yield, 1907, \$1,872,312,449." Her vast economic growth is marvelous. She has 254,076 schools, 207,707 churches, 6,043 national banks and 328,000 miles of railroad. Her population being 80,000,000, she has wealth per capita to the amount of \$1,310.11.

Why should not the American citizen be proud? Proud of his ancestry, his liberty, his country's wealth and its opportunities? Commanding the eminence of the western world, she commands all nations to know that there is a "Monroe Doctrine," which prescribes a fitting line between monarchical and republican forms of government. In accepting this legacy as a freeholder of the estate, or as an American citizen, we contract to maintain both the letter and the spirit of her constitution, which provides "Life, liberty and pursuit of happiness to every citizen." This condition is implied in our declaration of

citizenship: to live under her laws of government and to accept her protection. The question of slavery was a constitutional question and was appended to the grant, being one of the great sociologic questions of the day. Greely's *American Conflict*, Ch. 11, pp. 9, 41-49. The result of slavery was the beginning of debased public opinion, which brought with it a lawless spirit, notwithstanding our advance in science, literature, art, commerce and education.

The original Declaration of Independence, as was framed by Mr. Jefferson, was against slavery. The declaration of universal freedom and independence included all men. The opinion of the majority to the convention was opposed to slavery as immoral and against the institution of free government. Even Virginia had at this time prohibitive slavery, there being but 60,000 slaves then on her soil. But South Carolina and Georgia, with pro-slavery delegates, were obstinate and declared "No slaves, no Union." Thus at the most critical period of the Nation's history, when the union of the colonies was so imperative that the new government would have been a failure with one absent member, slavery was tolerated as a measure of diplomacy, notwithstanding the righteous spirit of the framers of this wonderful compact and their bitterness against the national evil. The following is the indictment of George III, then the British Sovereign, as a patron and upholder of African slave trade, embodied by Mr. Jefferson in his original draft of the Declaration: "Determined to keep

open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce, and that this assembly of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another." Mr. Jefferson in his autobiography gives the following reason for the omission of this remarkable passage from the Declaration as adopted, issued and published. "The clause, too, reprobating the enslaving of the inhabitants of Africa, was struck out in compliance with South Carolina and Georgia, which had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves." Governments on earth are institutions of mankind, and reforms and abuses are results of his nature. Thus, handed down to us was the government, or, estate, by our faultless forefathers. Following in a direct line, the violence of today is but the wrong of yesterday. In the heated passions of abolition agitation, the world was given the spectacle of open violence. Disregarding the laws, mobism prompted law-breakers. It became legal to mob and lynch before the days of "The Conflict."

The great speech of immortal Lincoln sheds much light on the age of which we refer. In 1837, before the Springfield, Ill., Lyceum, Mr. Lincoln was observable and spoke

of free institutions. We will quote extracts. "At what point shall we expect danger? Shall we expect some trans-Atlantic military giant to step the ocean and crush us at a blow? Never! All the armies of Europe, Asia and Africa combined, with all the treasures of the earth (our own excepted) in their military chest, with a Bonaparte for a commander, could not take a drink from the Ohio, or make a track on the Blue Ridge, in a trial of a thousand years. At what point, then, is this approach of danger to be expected? I answer, if ever it reaches us it must spring up among us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be the author and finisher. As a nation of free men, we must live through all time or die by suicide. There is even now something of ill-omen amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country, the disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions in lieu of sober judgment of the courts and the worse than savage mobs for the executive ministers of justice. This disposition is awfully fearful in any community, and that it now exists in ours, though grating to our feelings to admit it, it would be a violation of truth and folly to deny.

"Accounts of outrages committed by mobs form the every day news of the times. They have pervaded the country from New England to Louisiana; they are neither peculiar to the eternal snows of the former, nor the burning sun of the latter. They are not the creatures of climate, neither are they confined to the slave hold-

ing or non-slave holding states. Alike they spring up among the pleasure hunting masters of the southern slaves and the order loving citizens of the land of steady habits. Whatever, then their causes may be, it is common to the whole country."

I will refer again to Greely's *American Conflict*, page 449, Chap. 19, Vol. 1. Wherein we see the ascendancy of mobs and the terrible rise of lawlessness, the appeal of traitors and the song of disunion. Following this line, you will see the cause of our President's assassination. To be a President of the United States, is to run the hazards of death. To have wealth induces cynical hostility. To be born a Negro often means disfranchisement, Jim Crowism, out-lawry and the stake. The aim at the President's life is the blow at all society. Its destruction and annihilation is attempted. The epithets hurled at wealth emphasizes the latent spirit of deep class hatred. The blow to the Negro is the triumph of hate—a culmination of the greatest wrong the world has ever known. What is the cause of this? Lawlessness begets lawlessness. You cannot have a Jim Crow system for one class of citizens and a free government for another. As the flow of blood circulates through the human body, so also does public sentiment course through our body politic. One drop of poison will pervade the whole system. Now, behold! the low respiration of high public sentiment. The faint throb of the heart of pure motives! No longer doeth it beat at normal! No longer its tender thoughts are the cherished sentiments

of the weak! No longer is its strength the noble spirit of patriotic freedom! Statesmen cease to clamor for the cause of the just! They cry no more in the spirit of Garrison, Philips, Beecher, Clay, Douglass, Whittier, John Brown; nor in that of any of the world's emancipators; nor, out of the depths of patriotism, do they emulate our Patrick Henry, George Washington, or their compatriots, who cried aloud for the just cause of God! Water seeks its level. With poison there must come an epidemic. Alas! O God, is the nation in the throes of murder? The disease of lawlessness, like an avalanche, carries away the pillars of the Nation! And now life is as uncertain as the storm-swept ship of the ocean! President Lincoln was assassinated to propitiate the animosity of the Slave King! Garfield died of a ghastly wound; another glaring deed of lawless shame. Thus the sweep of lawless hate leaves death in its wake! The nation bows her head in sorrow at the ascendancy of bitter caste. Again the triumph of Death! Our greatest statesman, William McKinley, assassinated! He died to appease the hellish passion of the lawless element for blood! The anarchist alas! Ah, step by step the highest monument in crime is reached!

THE ANARCHIST.

He dark and cold and chilled in vein,
The mind of anarchism his mein;
Too black his countenance to see
The Noble Image of Liberty.

In this land where men are free,
Their lives to live in prosperous way,
There can be none, but reprobate
Who would murder, or assassinate!

Thy dull cause many years has grown,
And seed seditious has been sown.
The difference twixt thee and right
Doth mark the passion of thy strife.

Like wormwood bitter as the gall,
Thou'st chased the empty thought of hate;
And bitterness shall turn to thee
The crowning of thy hapless fate.

But oh! this ghastly horror! Blind, dead, insensible man! O, Heavens, withhold thy light! O, God, withhold Thy wrath! Look not upon this bestial scene! Chained to a stake! Writhing in the torture of his pain! Face aglare emitting the anguish of his suffering soul, while fiercer the fires of Hell destroy his living body! Now a cheering crowd gloats in triumph! They cheer and laugh and shout in ejaculations of praise at this grewsome crime! This convention of murderers is the triumph of slavery's two centuries of lawless reign. Aghast stands the Goddess of Liberty at this ignoble deed. But lawlessness by this act gains new impetus; it is stimulated thereby to become more prevalent and the criminal thirst of its perpetrators grows stronger and more acute.

The deed, the scene, the picture with a flash reaches the homes of a thousand million people of the civilized world and on the minds of these masses is the character of the American negro painted as black as the dismal walls of hell, while that of his white brother is held aloft as the image of purity, courage and strength. Shall the world's greatest agencies of usefulness, electricity and the press which has steadily advanced the onward march of progress, be the strong influence to obliterate the Negro's freedom? The field of crime is amazing. In the industrial strikes, the same spirit pervades the throng. They are willing to burn your property, destroy your railroads, your factories and your cities. They awe the police power and laugh at the militia. In the great A. R. U. strike in Chicago (1894) the civil authorities were helpless. One act of lawlessness succeeded another. Trains loaded with merchandise, one after another, were burned. Obstructions were placed upon the railroad right-of-way. Even cars were overturned to blockade the traffic. Trains carrying innocent people were stoned and their inmates injured. Everywhere property was wantonly and recklessly destroyed. Who did it? The mob. Business of every sort was crippled. The loss to business interests, not including millions upon millions of dollars of property destroyed, was more than two hundred million dollars. For industry of every kind was crippled throughout the United States; and the head of the nation was called upon to restore law and order.

At St. Louis, during the street-car strike, we had an-

other repetition of the mob. Police power was helpless to preserve law and order. For weeks the mobs held the city, preventing the lawful pursuit of business. Every citizen was inconvenienced by this trouble. The business interests suffered. Their estimated losses were more than two hundred and fifty million dollars.

In San Francisco car-strike, we had the same shameful occurrence. The mobs defied the police power. Obstructions were placed upon the street car company's right-of-way, cars were wrecked and dynamite was placed upon the tracks. Missiles were thrown from the tops of buildings, which struck the cars and injured and even endangered the lives of innocent people. Ambulances were kept busy caring for patronizers of the car company. They even went so far, this lawless power, as to carry a boycott against all persons who used the cars, when such power could be invoked. Next we hear the echoes of a frantic mob at Atlanta, Georgia. Like the storms which sweep the oceans, we meet mob violence first, North, then East, then West. As we read the bold type of our daily press throughout the land, we see "Race Riots," "Negroes Lynched," and similar headings. That is wrong. It is mob riot. The same spirit appears here as did at San Francisco, at St. Louis, and at Chicago. But now it poses as a protecting angel to defend the sanctity of womanhood; and with torch and gun they begin their destructiveness. Homes are burned! Men are killed in cold blood! Women are insulted! Children and

babies are made homeless and fatherless! Ah! 'tis the hellish passion for murder, the thirst for blood.

Again in Springfield, Ohio, the mob rules, and wantonly wastes life and property. The Negro again, left homeless and humiliated, is beaten by a fiendish horde of ruffians. The mob defies the police power. Willfully and maliciously they burn the homes and dwellings of innocent people. Then, again, even in Kentucky, there was loss of life and the destruction of property. By whom? The mob. Even there, the destruction of property ran into millions of dollars. This was a white lynching. They sought the destruction of the property of the American Tobacco Co., whose offense was, that they controlled the prices of tobacco. This is conclusive proof that mob-rule has achieved more power than the courts. It abrogates the authority of the courts, the states and the Nation. At last, we see the serene order of peace and dignity upset in the great state of Illinois; and, at the very seat of her government. The frenzied fury of a mob is awakened! Casting aside every semblance of piety, it breaks forth as doth volcanic fires, emitting their poisonous fumes. Cloud after cloud's revengeful fury rises! Deeper and deeper the fires of hatred burn until it seems that the last vestige of patriotism, law and order will be obscured. They go so far as to desecrate the tomb of our noble patriot, Abraham Lincoln! There the mob reaches the zenith of its power!

*The Negro's Right As a
Freeholder*

Chapter II.

THE Negro of the United States began his tenancy of the soil as a slave in 1619 when the first slave ship anchored at Jamestown Colony. By the laws of slavery he was declared an official tenant of the soil, that is, he was bound by the laws of the colonies which had slaves, to clear the forest, till the soil, and plant the crops; therefore, he was a tenant of the soil in fact, if not in law. At that time he was prohibited from any form of rights as a citizen, being considered a chattel by the laws then existing.

The laws that subsequently established his rights, notably the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution, did not create them. His rights existed before the proclamation, or the enactment of any laws with such purpose. The fact that the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution gave liberty to all men was sufficient to make the Negro a citizen as it did every nationality that lived in America. That is why a number of states, called free states, such as Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont and others were so named.

Appendages were placed, or, attached to the Constitution to legalize slavery, so also became the adoption of pro-slavery clauses to state Constitutions. Thus, to retain slavery, subsequent enactments were necessary to the original compact. Therefore, under the fundamental

laws of the Nation, or the Constitution, slavery has never had a legal sanction, since the laws for and against slavery were mere appendages and not a part of the original instrument. Then the Negro is a citizen under the Constitution; therefore, his position as a freeholder in the estate is made on constitutional grounds, notwithstanding the unlawful regime of slavery which deprived him of his constitutional rights. They must have existed prior to the amendments that established them, or, the laws that created them are unconstitutional. His rights were constructive and did exist. This theory is based on the principles of jurisprudence. This fact is confirmed by the 14th and 15th amendments.

The folly of class legislation is proven by historical events. Such are the laws that discriminate and create classes against the masses. In Europe the clamoring for centuries has been against selfish laws of the aristocracy. Men were held in serfdom because of class made laws; therefore, the popularity of the colonies of the New World was heightened by the hope of honest legislation and universal suffrage. Thus it was that the many thousands of Europeans came to America to free themselves from the pernicious rule of selfish government. The Stamp Act as a reprisal against the British Colony in Boston was an instance of detestable selfishness. This law was created for the interest of one man against the rights of another. American impulse revolted! Pro-slavery laws were principles with similar design, and again the Nation revolted! The fact that class legislation was

subversive to the Constitution, brought forth popular agitation against it. Then followed "The Conflict."

After dreaded days of four years' war, came remedial legislation which established the Constitution over the entire Union. It seems the lessons of history are easily forgotten. For no sooner did we become reconciled to peace and industry than arose the spirit of disregard toward our fundamental law. Amendments to the Constitution are now superceded by Constitutional amendments to state constitutions, which have a large Negro population—thus null and void are the Negroes' rights, or prospective rights, under the National law.

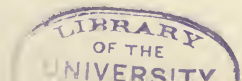
This discussion is clear in the essay of Walter C. Hamm in the Review of Reviews Magazine, March issue, 1889. "Two events of recent occurrence are accepted as marking the beginning of a new phase of the colored suffrage question in this country. One is the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States affirming the validity of the suffrage clause of the Mississippi Constitution. The language of the court was this: 'Restrained by the Federal Constitution from discriminating against the Negro as a race, the Mississippi Constitutional Convention discriminates against its characteristics and the offenses to which the weaker members are prone.'"

"The other event is the election of Nov. 8, 1898, in North Carolina, and the spirit of which the result was received throughout the country. The election is acknowledged to have been revolutionary in its character, but while there is criticism of the methods by which the

object was accomplished, there is no disposition manifested to interfere or to question the permanence of the result." "Brute force was chosen as the instrument for securing white supremacy. The colored voter was intimidated by the night-riding Klu Klux Klan and frightened away from the polls by threats on his life." "Ballot boxes were stuffed with tissue ballots and forgery on tally sheets was freely committed. In this way state after state was reclaimed by the Whites." "The second phase of negro suffrage began with Whites in control in every southern state and determined to perpetuate that control. The means used to insure this were violence and crime against the Blacks and political, social and business ostracism against a few Whites who persisted in adhering to the republican party." "But the political wrong done to the southern Blacks and the northern Whites by the suppression of the colored vote was not the worst result of methods employed to maintain white supremacy in the South. Open acquiescence in fraud on the ballot boxes and in deeds of violence against the Negroes worked endless demoralization among the southern Whites themselves." "It is only natural for men to argue that if a crime is excused for a political purpose, it will be excused for all other purposes. The public conscience was debauched and the moral sense of the people blunted." "Other evidences of the harm done to society in the South by the methods used to maintain white supremacy were the propensity to mob law, and the large number of defaulting state treasurers, by whose

dishonesty the southern people lost millions of dollars."

Then we will assume that the Negro is denied an honorable right as a freeholder in the estate which was created by the energies of his forefathers, and by the blood and tears of their outraged manhood. When we glance at the ages we are constrained to wonder. Now we see the tree of Liberty with her soothing branches full of life overshadowing the earth. We say, by whom was She planted? By whom was She defended? By the Eternal God, and by those who believed in Him. Then the right to the fullness of this earth was intended for all men. O, Earth, hold not in thy hallowed soil the spirit of heroes that have fallen, lest Death shall keep their lives and power! O, God, imbue the earth with truth and right! If Wisdom ever gave in sacrifice her ardent strength to God, just so has the black race in America struggled, suffered and died that some born of its kinsmen might live free in this land of opportunities. But, alas! the hour of darkness approaches. On every hand evil clouds arise; higher and higher they ascend until the Supreme Court of the United States confirms a Jim Crow Law! The Jim Crow statesmen, I call pirates, because in infamy of disgrace piracy is famed for its black intensity. On the seas of public opinion the great ship of state is attacked and the Negro is tortured and maltreated by the buccaneers of the color line. I call the Jim Crow laws criminal because they discredit the lives of our noblest patriots—Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, and many others. Let us



retrace the lines spoken by the immortal Lincoln at the battlefield of Gettysburg: "Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that this nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us here to be dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause, for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not die in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, that the government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth!"

O, noble thought be thine and mine!
The Nation's purpose bend
O, truthful heart the soul incline
Our wrongs to rightness mend,
May God's will be earthly light,
A unit with no end!

Shall another century pass and the Negroes' life belittled, narrowed and darkened by opponents of reason, by men who disregard all laws and appeal to caste, prejudice and selfishness? How long will the Nation countenance lawlessness? Can it be that we have reached the mean state of political corruption, where might is right, where, in the scale of Justice, the dollar outweighs the man and where the crying need of humanity is the subject of barter and sale in our houses of congress? Think, ye men, whose strength measures the reign of government! You who swear the oath to uphold our constitution! You who mould public opinion! I ask all men how long shall Justice be dethroned and Reason cast aside? When, through dishonor, a race of honest men are being enslaved in civilization's brightest era!

Is the press dead, or will she awake to chronicle the Nation's darkest deed? Can the serpent of prejudice remain the bosom companion of honest men? If not, let the vigilant, the strong, the active, the men with honest hearts unite against the passions of the vile and the power of the unjust! Then out of chaos will come a

concrete substance: a nation devoted to freedom, a country of honorable men! The Negro is maltreated, misrepresented, and outlawed for the sole purpose of depriving him of the benefits from the estate. Every nationality is welcome here except him. He is a tenant at sufferance in every community; and where he is disliked the most, although a law-abiding citizen, he must live in dread of bodily harm and is free nowhere from the pernicious influence of Jim Crowism. So merciless has been the attack upon him, that his very color has become the emblem of shame, the incentive for attack. In no place, in no industry or profession is he welcome. He meets the color line regardless of his fortune or misfortune, his manners, his education, his wealth or his ability. Merely being born black, or, partially so, is the curse of the most civilized and progressive age the world has ever known. I ask, is the Nation's advancement based upon her culture, science, literature, commerce and education, or, upon prejudicial sentiments concerning color? If the former, then the latter is wrong; if the latter, then the former is wrong. But, however, regarding advancement because of color, the white man who brought the Negro to this country did not advance very far on his knowledge; and the white man who is opposed to the black man because of his color, is not advancing himself, nor the interest of the community in which he lives.

Organized labor is opposed to the Negro. On the railways, on the street cars, in the factories he is not wanted,

because organized labor is against him. The majority of these Union men are of foreign birth and aliens who endeavor to prevent the Negro, an American citizen, from earning his daily bread. This is the keenest blow against the black man's freedom. Like a huge giant threatening and menacing all that seek equal freedom with him, this monster labor trust threatens to thrust upon the Nation a period of oppression unequaled in its severity. Organizations, whether public, private, civil, fraternal or religious are capable of great moral uplift. Likewise they are capable of great wrongs, oppression and servitude. The exalted aim, the high purpose, the sublime thought, principle and action are the tendencies of good which must animate these bodies, or their use as a factor toward the advancement of mankind is negative. Capital looks down upon the Negro; so busy is he in the plunder for wealth that naught but gain is confined to his progress. From Europe come the many millions of immigrants, all supposed to be better than the Negro; from Asia we receive a flood of Asiatics, all considered better than him. If there ever were a world of horrors presupposed, created by the world's selfish millions, a triumph of calamities, the sphere the black man fills surely seems its successful conclusion.

At this great wrong we pause, and look civilization in the face to ascertain her meaning. Can this be the great Christian era, the progressive age of accumulated science, art, literature and wealth? Can the Nation remain strong, vigorous and successful when the

sanctity of her laws are beneath the ashes of men's feet?
No!

Then it behooves those who believe in Liberty and Law to assert themselves, that the overthrow of Justice may not become complete in the "land of the free and home of the brave?"

*Relationship of Jim Crowism to
Lawlessness*

Chapter III.

THE true response for right is the elevation of the ideal. Beginning from childhood our conceptions of right and wrong are formed. The highest regard for the rights of others is truly found in "Love thy neighbor as thyself," which as a spirit of action superceded all just laws.

The highest monument in the Nation is not the embellished statue of Liberty, nor the monument of George Washington towering up its many hundred feet into space, nor, that of any sainted patriot who left the "influence" of his life to be commemorated by granite and stone; but, the context and spirit of our laws and their influence toward uplifting the character of manhood and womanhood are the highest and indestructible towers of our greatness.

The feeling of disrespect is the point of danger. Its influence is the seat of lawless traits. Sacredness of right is the strength of wise men; and when there is no sacredness of duty, there is no respect for the rights of others. If our ideals are not cultivated to the true appreciation of Nature, of home, of duty and of country, the lack of our refinement would ignore the sanctity of our laws; therefore, the strongest bulwark of the Nation would crumble. In God's creation were born the nations of this earth whose right to life, freedom, and happiness are as sacred as our own; therefore, in proclaiming, de-

claring and establishing law, order and government we acknowledge their rights in protecting our own.

All nations then must abhor those teachings that tend toward selfishness; for, when developed, they produce lawless traits.

These lawless traits begin in childhood and ripen in manhood, so, therefore, we find unjust and unreasonable laws not only dulling the ethical sense of honor, but leading the youth to wrong. Therefore Jim Crowism has its relation to lawlessness from its conception. A statute, a law, or a principle laid down by a community, state, or a nation which, from its spirit, its precepts, its antecedents, or its motives disregards idealism, must directly incline towards injustice, prejudice, and lawlessness; and can only mean the destruction of man's highest ideals. A nation, like a man, to become great, must build with the best material obtainable. It must be actuated only by high purposes and resolves. He must think right, act right and live right. Wherefore, we see the spirit of Jim Crowism at first, a vital factor against the peace and dignity of the Nation, because, like a blight, it destroys freedom, liberty and happiness. It lessens the ethical powers of the white race. The higher sense of reason is dulled. Christian ideal, then, bereft of power, and the strength of Liberty must weaken. Justice thereby becomes but a howling mockery! We have truth without love! and bravery without honor!

Against the slave were heaped all the iniquities of mankind; to look down, to stoop to bestial plane, with no

thought of shame, or remorse. and to have no feeling of pride. And upon this state of affairs were the laws of society based. Therefore, from the lowest, meanest plane of wicked hatred the spirit and principles of Jim Crowism were conceived.

Now, as satan of old, plausible and cunning, it ascends the throne of Justice and poses as a defender to protect the integrity of the white race. It doth entangle the black race, but ah! friends of civilization, its cunning will deceive. With it comes the murderer, with it comes the anarchist, with it comes annihilation. Behold! the lawless power doth challenge the authority of the city, the state and the Nation! Against the peace of all, the mob has come. Dangerous even more than the blight of cholera, the scourge of war, or pestilence, or famine. The moral effect of Jim Crowism is, that first it shadows the black man with a cloud of indecency; second, it dwarfs his lofty ideals and narrows his scope of aspirations. For the white man, it creates disrespect for the black man and lessens the keen perception of human rights.

As the mind becomes clouded, he grows more unreasonable and selfish till, like the slave, is all who measure not strength with him. Brutal and tyrannical fast becomes the rule. Hatred for love! selfishness for patriotism, torture for the weak! The wisdom of Jim Crowism is unsafe. It fosters dislike, prejudice and cowardice. It cannot benefit the white man, therefore it cannot help the Negro. The humiliation and disgrace following

in pursuance of these laws, is as fatal as the weapon that destroys the suicide. This destruction is more disparaging than all others. Hope is thereby faded and life belittled to satisfy the cruel desire of revengeful hate. The Nation clamors for liberty, freedom, and justice; and yet with the fatality of death she clings to Jim Crowism! They who adhere to political Jim Crowism have left no stone unturned that would assist in the degradation of the Negro, or that would multiply his misery and hardship. Slavery was the leprosy of this Nation, and, through God that curse was obliterated. Step by step, we rise to honor, or sink in shame! Who calls for this dreaded scourge again to sweep the land? Who advocates a fatal malady that will consume and destroy? Is it statesman-like to invite misery and hardships in a country where men are prosperous and free? No! Then, what follows the enactment of Jim Crow statutes if their intent and purpose is not to defeat Justice? If white supremacy cannot maintain herself through the wisdom of natural law, her ascendancy is a blight and a curse to the earth. Or, if dishonest principles are necessary to secure to the white man political power, that power and influence cannot sustain itself in a world of growing wisdom; hence, with advancing civilization, its weak foundation will crumble. Are these agitators not satisfied with the grievous mistake of their forefathers?

Draw an imaginary line from the coast of Africa to the fertile plains of Missouri! Imagine a graveyard this entire distance. Then picture ten millions of Africa's

able sons the ill-fated victims of this tomb! Picture again the events of history: the North arrayed against the South in a mighty conflict, because natural justice decreeth God's will. Hear ye the appeal of our beloved Lincoln in the interpretation of God's law: "Woe unto the world because of the offense, for it must need be that offenses come; but woe to the man by whom the offense cometh." "If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of the offenses, which in the providence of God must need come, but which, having continued through this appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him?" Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yea, if God wills that it continue until the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." The "blood of the lash" was paid by the blood of the sword! The millions of wealth acquired by the bondsman's toil was lost! Does this not prove the moral philosophy and the justness of natural law? Jim Crow laws are properly traced to the institution of slavery. Was her spirit a righteous

one? No! Are her conceptions founded on the greatness of the white race, and the intent to conserve moral contentment of that people? If so, her wisdom is wrong.

History is true and our judgment is not false in looking in the past. The fear of the southern white man is well grounded. Cowardice prohibits him from the recourse to honor. Something wrong was done, he seeks to justify his misconduct toward the Negro by advocating race prejudice. Thus, the herald from the Southland cometh, proclaiming her dignity! Thrusting aside the rights of others, she doth declare her superiority and the black man's inferiority, and her right to abuse, disfranchise and annoy law-abiding and peaceful American citizens. Now, proscriptive laws and Jim Crow statutes are the glasses through which we look. We see the glaring infamy of murder, robbery and rape! We see the vile purpose of the southern White in his shameful attitude towards the black man! We see the toiling Blacks fettered to earth! We see the "Tree of Knowledge" a forbidden fruit to him! We see him toiling, toiling, wearily toiling, a leaden cross heaped in human sorrow upon his back! Alas! we see that vast graveyard with its million tombs, looking toward God and the eternal skies, asking, yea, demanding justice for an outraged manhood, the black race! The white man may forget, but the black man shall not! This may cause serious reflection, but it truly teaches that the perpetuity of governments rests upon the freedom of man and the justice of God. The rabies of this Jim Crow spirit must be

obliterated, or there will not be a spot of free soil in the United States nor in a single possession that she holds. Its lawless instincts are the outgrowth of national patriotic indifference. It abides by no decision except its own. If it wills murder, it commits murder. It is the seat of lawlessness. Shall this disease grow and grow until it actually and forcibly defies national authority? Where will its activities cease? We may trace it over a period of three centuries in the United States, or nearly so. It began with slavery in the year 1619 and has taken first one form of national disgrace or another ever since. It argued for slavery, for state's rights, for secession; it established proscriptive laws, it organized mobs, it authorized lynching; alas, it declared the treaty-making power was not lodged in the National Government! (See Japanese school question and the California Legislature.)

A plan to defeat the Wisdom of God may be in the sphere of human thought, but naught will it accomplish. It may be an easy thing today to hinder and obstruct the Constitution. You may declare this country is for the white man and shall be, but what about tomorrow? You may claim superiority over the dark races and their possibilities, but are you taking into your counsels the law of God? What is gained by the cannon shall be lost by the sword. If your government shall find its axes resting on brute force, what will connect you with moral strength and economic virtue? In what way can we assimilate the ethics of our Constitution with the

spirit of lynch law, Jim Crow statutes and race prejudice?

Mobs were first intended for Negroes and their sympathizers, but now, ah! they mob everybody.

Shall not the restless wave of night,
Grim by the color line,
Her own fair outline then besmirch
With ills of hatred blind?
Roll on imperious wave of night,
Thy own damnation find;
Thou Ocean, reeking in thy blight,
Sustained by color line!

Disfranchise or Disqualify



Chapter IV.

SHOULD the Negro be eliminated from the ballot-box? No! because it is his only safeguard against tyranny, oppression and slavery. The claim that the elective franchise granted the ex-slave was an injustice to the Whites of the southern states, is the same argument that his becoming free was wrong. The right of franchise is based on the right of taxation. And no citizen can live in a community or state without his burden of taxation, whether or not he be landlord, lessor or tenant; because properties, both real and personal, are taxable, and the laws of taxation are based on community valuations. Therefore, the burden of each district bears its relationship to its own maintenance.

It is evident, therefore, that any discrimination against honest representation is usurpation, dangerous and degrading. We all know of the Klu Klux Klan, the election frauds of the South, the rise and fall of Justice.

The claim that the ignorant masses were powerless to execute an intelligent vote is as truthful as to declare and argue that their interest would be safeguarded by the selfish classes who persisted in their ignorance. They say the Negro knew nothing of government; and still, what they themselves practiced was too low and mean to be called government. Returning the stolen jewels does not excuse the crime of robbery; nor open acknowledgment of fraud legalized justify or excuse the act of dis-

honesty. "A thief cannot convey a title." The ballot earned by the Negro then is justly his. The grandeur of the slave king is the curse of his posterity. The stolen treasures of bondage which weigh about his neck is the millstone threatening his destruction.

As long as Slavery's cruel chain
To thy conscience beareth claim,
The noblest heart in thralldom dies—
Ye reap the seed ye thoughtless sow!

We argue a higher law as a fitness to vote. The acquisition of wealth and education does not qualify one, nor does it purify the ballot box. A man's wealth and education might induce either an honest or a dishonest purpose. Education, money and brains are circumstances; and a man may have either and yet be truthful or untruthful. The surest way to protect the rights of mankind is to allow his participation in organization and government. So with the newly emancipated slave, his right to participate in the organization of which he was, and by which he was to be governed, carried as high confirmation, as that which directs the legislative body of any race which shall be subject to our laws. Some writers say this was a curse. That is but another way of saying slavery was right. Taxation without representation is laid down by the writers of history as the cause for the War of Independence. An appeal from the sovereignty of the nation to the sovereignty of man is laid down as

the sacred right for revolution. The Negro's right to a just consideration, therefore, cannot be denied; and his right to the ballot-box is confirmed by the history and laws of this nation. Thus we might conveniently refer to the crisis in San Francisco when the chief executive of that city was a convicted felon; and when for days the municipal authority was crippled because of the vast exposure of fraud. As we raise our eyes and gaze over the political horizon of American politics, it is hard to find the cloudless sky. Every city, every county and every State has produced its Eugene Schmitzs, or its Abraham Ruefs, or some such characters, who have appeared beneath the cloud of public scorn. These men are white men and educated men. Even the United States senate is not without its stains. But these conditions do not result because of the color of men or their education.

The details of slavery are too vicious to chronicle. Never in the history of governments did the debasing influence of a criminal system reach such a low ebb. Mean, cruel, wicked, cursed, and not within the conception of human mind, except the low and vile, were its practices. Every principle of law, moral, social and economic, was banished from the realms of southern institutions by American slavery.

The intent to disfranchise characterizes the spirit of slavery. To nullify the voice of the laboring class in a republican form of government is not a democratic idea, but autocratic; because to destroy their freedom, to prohibit their advancement, is the way to demoralization,

inefficiency and incompetency. Lastly, their power to advance and compete with the laboring classes in any other part of the world where there are advanced ideas and progressive movements, is negatived.

With disfranchisement accomplished, what are the results? The success of the Negro as a free and independent laboring class is defeated. The crown of bondage is again placed on his brow. His chances to develop to the fullness of his power are destroyed. With independence gone, he has no alternative except a condition of serfdom. He cannot maintain his freedom, for his independence is lost. As a working class, he can neither assert nor defend his rights.

The power of America as a commercial nation would thereby be impaired, because what will affect one class of labor will affect all. What will affect the South will affect the North, and vice versa. The Nation cannot, with a part of its labor ignorant and neglected, hold foreign markets; because where men are free to make the best of their lot their advancement is the basic foundation of national prosperity. In the future we will not be able to compete with Germany, France, England, nor any other country, with a part of our resources undeveloped.

Social and economic laws are not subjugated by Jim Crow statutes. They recognize neither white nor black. This is a higher law, beyond the reach of prejudice and the edicts of pirates,—a law on which the fate of the

Nation hangs! Why are we seeking foreign markets, if it is not to improve the labor class at home?

The cry of unionism against convict labor comes with a shock with the attempt to destroy the efficiency of the black man as a laborer, by elimination, disfranchisement, etc.

Under the laws of slavery, industry was shackled by the same chain that held the slave. Forbidden was the southern white man, under the social laws, the exercise of industrial skill. Hence, the foundation of southern economic progress was shattered, because labor was degradation, and only fitted for the slave. Their resources of material progress were thus enfeebled. Slave labor has always been the most costly, less effective, and actually powerless to compete with free labor, which is necessarily stimulated by its freedom, education and endless opportunities.

During the period of economic depression in the South, the North has advanced materially. Factories and mills grew up in every village and every city. The prestige of the North as a financial giant continues to grow with her many thousand schools and colleges, and with her constructive idea of free and educated labor.

"There was not a public school system in any southern state before the war."

The argument of disfranchisement, therefore, loses its weight, because it acts as an estoppel in the operation of fundamental progress.

Socially wrong, morally wrong, and economically bad!

The contentment of the laboring classes amounts to the total wealth and power of a nation. Can any mind conceive the tide of unrest in a large laboring population who are smarting under the restraint of proscriptive laws, that de-citizenize them, while it gives another laboring class the oppressor's hand? In this shameful plight to-day stands the Negro, an American citizen!

"A man who knows that the laws under which he lives violate the first principles of natural justice, is bound to strive, by all honorable means, to break down and defeat those laws. Among the honorable means is, the right of armed resistance—the sacred right to revolution." "This is the higher law which sanctified the revolt of George Washington against the constituted authorities then existing in this country."

By the spirit of patriotism, by the usages of the Nation, by the laws of society the Negro is entitled to his ballot and should not be disfranchised. To be a man with education, he must have freedom; to have his freedom, he must be honest; to be honest, he must be patriotic; to be patriotic, he must be brave; to be brave, he must love; to love, he must be honorable; to be honorable, he cannot be without his ballot.

If the Negro were disfranchised, then his education would become the consuming fires of his destruction. His soul would thirst for life and perish as a plant in the desert waste. Then would rise within him a spirit enkindled with latent fires of racial hate, whose burning activity would seek anarchistic strength. What then?

His characteristic happiness would turn to the sullen mood of the ox. The Negro, knowing that execrable laws were steadfast and against his progress and happiness, could he feel different than the assassin, or the hideous murderer who clamors for blood?

Therefore, what the Negro race has seemed to have lost through dishonor and the white man's dishonesty ought, nevertheless, to remain his. And he will struggle ever to retain his possessions! Through the courts of civilization, before the jury of public opinion, before the judge of Progress—even to the end of time—shall he pursue the cause of Justice, that the restoration of his rights before God may prove his manhood.

Who breatheth now the sun's pure ray?

Who liveth life in brightest way?

Who sees as God, though but in clay?

"Tis he that loves, that loves!

A Pertinent Question



Chapter V.

THERE is no question of more importance to the American Nation than the one of lawlessness. As a part of our inheritance, we must study, understand and deal with it in the same high sense of reasoning as we have every question that has confronted the Nation. The mob affects the interest of one race as much as it does the other, for there can be no rule of justice or injustice that will not measure its equal in all directions. Mob rule is the result of slavery. It is the culmination of criminal passions. Jim Crow law is the tide of prejudice. Unite the criminal passion, the tide of prejudice and the assembly of men and you have tyrants. You have lawless characters who will fill the Nation with horrors, and stain a spotless coat with blood; those who will trample beneath their murderous feet the reputation of our laws and the honor of our country. They now jeopardize the interests of ten million Negroes and threaten the liberty of seventy million Whites.

Will the Negro be a free man in a free country? Will the white man be a free man in a free country? These questions are inseparable. The standard of one will be the height of the other. If the Negro's freedom is curtailed by perverse laws, the white man's liberty is restrained by the same perversity. Like the pendulum of a clock, its movements depend upon the equation of its bearings. When the clock runs free, her bearings are

right; when the Nation prospers, it is when her bearings are equality and justice. Every rule must have a principle, and every principle must have a foundation.

So with our laws—if they are entangled with inconsistencies, or conflicting opinions, we shall have misrule, because a law must be general, permanent and universal, in order to insure us against confusion of interpretation, which might render its power null and void. If we are to increase the efficacy of our laws by the growth of vital strength, we must observe the Rule and the Square.

The hope of honest men is the realization of just and efficient laws; but we cannot sow discord and expect to reap the beauty of harmony. You cannot destroy the efficacy of the soil by acidulous legislation and expect mankind to boast of the “waving gold” of freedom’s triumph. If we plant wheat, wheat will grow; if we plant thorns, thistles will blossom. As the Nation grows, whether we shall become stronger or weaker, will depend upon the virtue of her laws. If they shall conform to the ideals of sublime reason, if our law-givers shall be actuated by noble motives, then what we shall build will become stronger and stronger. This is not a question of color prejudice, but one of national importance, because it affects the entire status of our free government. Nothing is more injurious to free government than special legislation, for such legislation establishes a disregard for Justice and brings into disrepute the wisdom of sane and just laws. Should not legislation of this character be dreaded by all mankind?

Men fight first for liberty, because without freedom they possess little that insures happiness. Since we have traced lawlessness from the spirit of the mob and Jim Crow legislation, it is the duty of the Nation to stop its clamoring, defeat its purpose, and negative its powers. Like a black rag hideous for its execrations, we have appended this contemptible plague, Jim Crowism, to a noble Constitution by condoning certain states in constitutional amendments. To show the proof of this claim, I offer the extracts from Congressional Records, extracts from remarks of Hon. Benjamin Tillman, February 26, 1900:

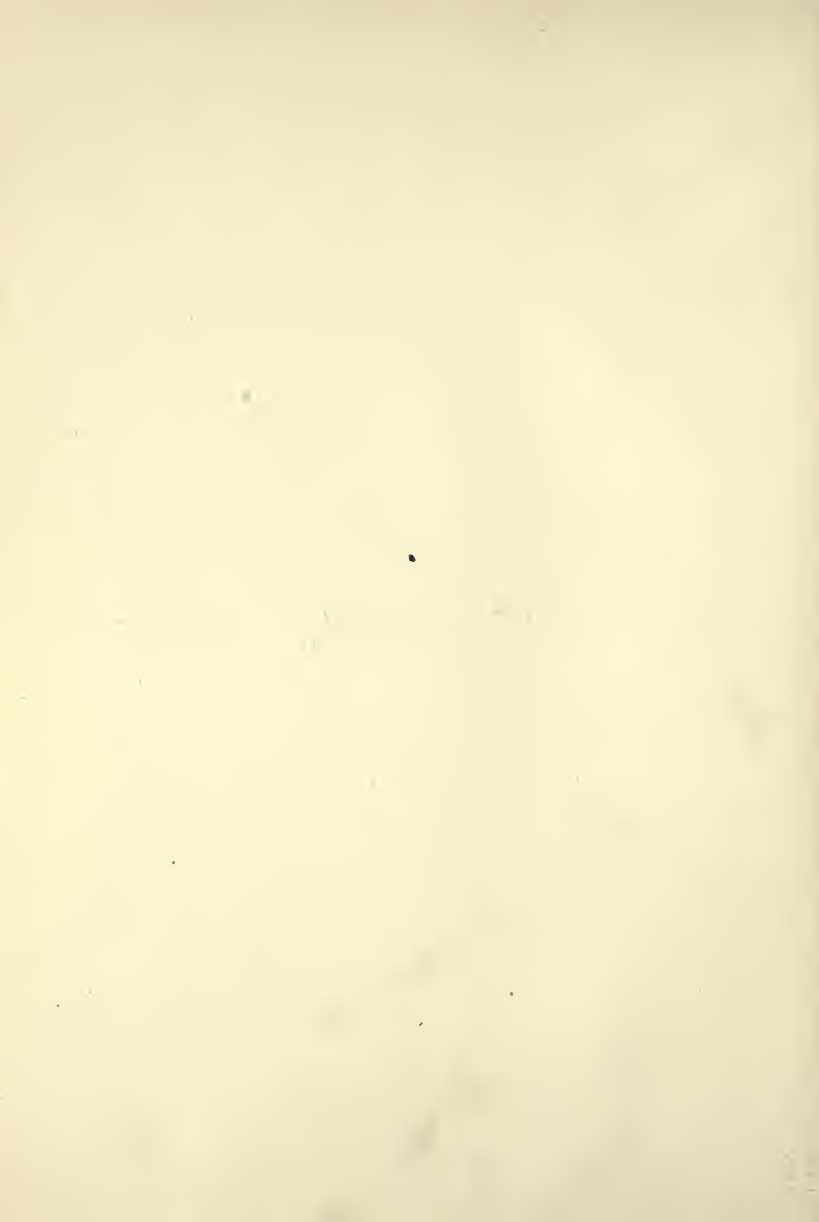
"I have exhumed the bloody shirt for a brief moment and am waving it like a red flag to a bull and the latter will not fight or budge. And I will call the attention of my friends of the North—I have a great many on that side, I am proud to say—to the fact that they do not know, and never will know until they come south to live with us, just what we have to contend against even now. They do not realize it, they cannot realize it; and it is for the purpose of trying to have them study this question of race a little more, and analyze it, that I have attempted, in my feeble way, to intrude on this body for the brief remarks I have made on this subject, I will tell you, while I am talking about negro suffrage, why they are so dangerous as voters. In any state where the Whites divide—and they have divided in every southern state except mine and Mississippi—into Populist and Democrats, the Negro has been the balance of power, though one side or the other has controlled the elections

by means of bribery, for the Negro vote was a purchasable one. Therefore, we have been confronted by the condition of a large, ignorant, debased vote, thrust upon us by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Other states, not peculiarly situated as mine, have retained the negro vote. They have taken no steps looking to its elimination by educational qualifications or other system. That vote to-day stands as a menace to the freedom, to the purity of the ballot-box, to the purity and honesty of elections, to the decency of government, and it is there forever until there is a constitutional provision made here which will relieve us from it. I should be glad to see an educational qualification throughout the North. I believe no man is fit to be an elector unless he is able to read and write and understands about government and its great principles. But who hopes to see that? No party at the North will dare to undertake to limit suffrage in that way, because it would mean at the first election that the vote which they dreaded would go to the other party and they would be beaten, and the demagogues in both parties would plead that you must have equality of manhood, without regard to patriotism, or intelligence, or decency, or ability, or any other qualification which makes a man fit to vote. Let me tell you how we are situated in our state. We had a hundred and twenty-five thousand Negroes of voting age and we had a hundred thousand Whites. Now, can you lift yourself over the fence with your boot straps and beat that by honest methods. Yet you stood up here and

insisted that we must give these people a 'free vote and a fair count.' They had it for eight years, as long as bayonets stood here, and in 1876 they sent more bayonets, because we had got the devil in us by that time and we did not care whether we had any government. We preferred to have a United States army officer rather than a government of carpet-baggers and thieves and scallywags and scoundrels, who had stolen everything in sight and had mortgaged posterity; who had run their felonious paws into the pockets of posterity by issuing bonds. When that happened we took the government away. We stuffed the ballot boxes. We shot them. We are not ashamed of it. With that system—force, tissue ballots, etc.—we got tired ourselves. So we had a constitutional convention and we eliminated, as I said, all the colored people we could under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments."

When the Jim Crow orator receives applause, when howling mobs fill the streets, when the assassin and the anarchist lurk about in the dark ready to attack individuals as well as society, when infants are taught the selfish spirit of hatred and to ignore the beauty of God's creation, when Presidents stand in awe of murder, when every community has its special laws and her color-line, when a large part of our citizens go armed, is it a wonder that our European critics say history will repeat itself—"a Republic, then an Empire?"

The Tragedy



Chapter VI.

THE world has read the piteous tale of the South—the Clansman and the Leopard spots. By her able sons she has been defended through the press, pulpit and platform. They have all portrayed her high standard of virtue, chivalry and patriotism. They have declared her justified in both mob-violence and Jim Crow laws, and have certified her ill-treatment of the Negro as just. Now, let us reason. The African race in America was once a dark people; but we now have the mulatto: a substitute for white and black. Some are even so fair that the African extraction is hardly visible; but as some writers put it, “one drop of negro blood makes the creature black.” We will accept the doctrine as truth and calculate therefrom.

Of the ten million Negroes in the United States, three millions are mulattoes. For such a gigantic admixture of blood there must be a cause. Beginning in the early days of slavery, this miscegenation began. The civilized white man and the heathen slave woman were the factors in this unit. As slavery progressed this prodigious wrong increased. The slave woman bore the name of a negro wench, while her master was rated as a gentleman! This was one of the common practices of slavery. From this bestial state of affairs the negro race got its first admixture of blood, and this through the criminal rape and immorality of the white race. In heathendom the negro

race is known for its honesty and virtue. Even unto this day, infraction of moral propriety are punishable by death.

The first crime against women in the United States was committed by the white man against black women. In civilization, nothing is more horrible than the strong crushing out the life of the weak.

This destruction was deadlier than the vicious fangs of a poisonous reptile. It was a sin against the home, the Nation and the honor of a defenseless race. Its infamy struck the very cords of society. The moral strength of the civilized world was against this institution of bestiality! To Heaven went up the vociferous cry of civilization against this terrible crime! And the world in pity gazed upon the sorrowing tale of inhumanity! And now from the foundation of this criminal waste arises the offspring, this Jim Crow spirit, this color line, this death, a living power, this curse of our civilization, this image of Death whose only mission is to crush the hopes of a struggling race of freedmen.

This cruel spirit now seeks to protect its home after it has destroyed the beauty and happiness in the home of another. Is it a moral theme that would advocate the actions of a thief and a murderer? No! Then disabling laws of Jim Crowism are nothing more nor less than the edicts of criminals and murderers, who breathe the sentiment of confiscation, degradation and damnation of the Negro race.

We depict the crime of murder in the harshness of

indignant wrath; but what is it but murder when the moral propriety of the negro race is wickedly assailed by its malfactors?

The "crime against woman" is assigned to the Blacks, while the vicious and beastlike passion of the white man lures and carries to destruction every black woman that its cunning, shrewd and criminal influence can reach.

"Enemies are cowards, that fight in the dark." Warfare is honorable so long as it does not outrage the principles of reason. It may be just to fight, and it may be honorable to die; yet, it can be that every drop of blood is the stain of murder, even though its sanction comes from the highest legal authority.

How long will the Anglo-Saxon boast of his home, his influence and his power, when the sin of all sins, the wrong greater than all others, casts its grim reflection in a lighter Negro or mulatto?

A man's standard of character and virtue are measured by the history of his accomplishments. Then in order to judge southern institutions, we must study their history, compare their achievements and measure their progress. To read the history of the southern states, is to revive in mind the harrowing recollections of misery and servitude of the black race and the extravagance and immorality of the white race. If we measure her success with her sister states of the North, we would say, manhood is the greatest title of honor in the American Nation, and the promotion of it must be well founded in the statutes of our states. Then the declaration of

southern chivalry is as unwise as it is untruthful. She was but a criminal tragedy in her days of glory and fame. For, while high tribute was paid to the stranger who visited the southern soil, the clanking chains of four million men was the resourcefulness of this extreme kindly nature! Now the world must condone this crime to propitiate the spirit of racial hatred and the unjust claim of Jim Crowism! This Jim Crow spirit surely comes from hades, for the trials of our ancestors are pictured in hell's darkest drama!

The harvest e'er long must reach her fullness! The deed, the seed implanted, why should we not have a lawless age? I doubt a single instance where an honest white man, or an honest black man, would scorn the effort to place feminine virtue upon the highest pinnacle of human reverence. Even so high that rather would they have it be the character of their state defamed than the honor of woman! We read in the early days of the Greeks, that once, when their country was at war and they were hard pressed by their enemy, they placed their mothers, wives and children aboard their fleet and called their ships their country and their country their state. Indeed, such honor and sublimity was attached to womanhood that their protection and defense laid first in the laws of government.

Quote the deepest thought that letters teach,
The purest lines that poets preach,
Nay, all in all we fail to find
Fitting words that will define—woman.

But ah! as deeper we go into the subject the clearer is our conception of the grave wrong committed against the negro woman, and the true origin of Jim Crowism.

Born in the depth of this disgraceful shame are the offsprings of the white man and the slave woman! Outlawed by birth! Fatherless and homeless in a country of Jim Crow laws! In the great state of California we have outlawed the negro woman.

In March, 1872, the marriage between Whites and Blacks was prohibited by statute, which amounted to the total disability of the negro women.

Now, what are the resultant conditions which have been brought about by this law? Her laws prohibit marriage between the white race and the negro race. Are the laws of God subservient to the laws of man? Can any man change the nature of creation? Then, why legislate against the decrees of God since the action is man's disgrace? Finally, the laws to protect womanhood have become submissive to prostitution and crime. She is barred by the state from an honorable standing. Womanhood in a dark skin is but a waif, unprotected, outlawed and disgraced. The champions of our code could not see the beauty of the sublime—honor, chastity and purity in a dark-skinned woman. History refuses the analogous of this state of affairs. It must be a cold, cold heart, a dark mind, and an empty conscience, and a soulless being, indeed, who would refuse woman protection. Yet, implanted in the twentieth century are laws, weak for the lack of courageous manhood to detect them.

Laws which outrageously condemn us in the eyes of all honest men throughout the entire civilized world.

I ask the political economist, the sociologist, the philosopher, and society itself, to picture another race in the same position, or give me a finality of this one! Bestialized, criminalized, bastardized, outlawed, hated, enslaved; a drop of her blood means the cast of shame, the spirit of the country against her color. Avenues, one after another, closed against her as far as it lies in the power of mankind! Yet in the face of this inhuman damnation, Jim Crow legislation and beastlike spirit of madness, she stands firm, refusing to denounce Democracy, and asks civilization for her share of enlightenment, education and happiness.

Bending like the welded steel,
Forged by Vulcan's hand,
Her strength, ah! must be true and tried
The angered fires to stand.
Let Afric's day of trials be
The furnace fires glowing free;
That purest steel the forge may lend,
True and tried—neither break nor bend.

Professor Scarborough, in an able magazine article (*Arena*), gives the appalling figures, "36,000 children born in a year in the South with white fathers and Negro mothers." This offspring is under no pale of protection. What a terrible condition! Why should the white man lynch the Negro?

It is one thing to commit murder and another thing to shield the crime. Webster says, "The whole creation of God has neither nook, nor corner, where guilt can bestow and say that it is safe." O murdered! homeless! unfortunate woman, where are thy brave defenders? The legislature, the press, the pulpit? the angered mob with torch and gun, bent on death and murder, are these thy defense? Why do we read: Justice! Lynched! Burned at Stake! A white man never suffered the stake for a black woman's honor! Yet the greatest crime of the century was and is being committed by the white man. In the state of California, we have one of these outlawed women, a negro girl under age, who became the mother of a child by a white man. Under pressure of vengeance by the mother, he married her; but as soon as the storm calmed, he sought annulment of ties on the grounds that she was a Negress.

Not marked by sun's scorching rays,
Nor clouds that hang from evil sky,
Nor cares that steal her beauty 'way,
Is she whose color is black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

Thou mad'st the laws of this land,
To protect woman on every hand;
But, strange, thou gav'st her naught to say,
She whose color is black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

Know'st thou not that she could love,
And bear to man hope from above
In woman's exalted glory?
She whose color is black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

Dire grieved by cheerless past,
Wronged by ignoble class,
Bearing their burdens as her pay,
The woman whose color is black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

Cheerless worker, go on thy way;
Thy starving soul must pity find
Beyond the veil of human mind,
Thou whose color is black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

Move on, O blighted hope, move on!
Arouse thy spirit from the dust,
The carnal age, the age of lust,
Thou whose color is black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

We see thy gloom from day to day,
We watch the serpent with its prey,
The poisonous sting and death it brings
To thee whose color is black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

Thy chastity was cast aside
To soothe the passions of evil tide
Who wedded not thy sorrowing,
Thou whose color is black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

They pitied not the sorrow wrought,
But, demonlike, fought for hope
Of bondage, and misery's yoke,
For her whose color is black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

Can there be those with minds so great
This dreadful sorrow could relate,
Save her, who suffered another's wrong?
Nay, she alone whose color is black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

Then live thou on, O spirit, and trust!
It's better to wed the woes of dust
Than cast away the throne of love!
Live on, thou soul in black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

Build high, thy hope shall always live;
Strive hard, thy soul shall fill
With conquering courage, dominant will,
Thou whose color is black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

Live thou then for a brighter day!

This woeful age shall pass away
Beyond the cliffs of sorrow's bounds.

Live on, thou soul in black,
The outlawed spirit, the castaway!

I implore the honor of every honest man in behalf of Justice and against the damnable curse of Jim Crowism! May womanhood, regardless of race or color, be the matchless ideal of our national honor, and the splendor of her character reflect the greatness of our manhood.

Bleeding, sorrowing, weeping heart,
May thy laden cross come light,
Thou heroine of earth's dark night!
The world shall see thy mission then,
Thy honor shall all men defend!
That Arian hue upon thy face
Shall mark forever the unjust race,
Thy piteous soul ne'er sinned.

The Lawless Trend

Chapter VII.

"**T**HE strong shall protect the weak!" This is one of the oldest axioms of law. The strong should lead the weak; but not with a rope around his neck, nor the shackles of bondage about his feet; but to right, to light, to hope, to happiness and to usefulness. We may as well stop building colleges if we are continually erecting saloons. The Nation spends many millions of dollars annually for the education of her youth. And more than two hundred and eighty millions is used in the manufacture of liquor. More than that amount of money is paid the United States Government for revenue tax and license; and each state is burdened with extra taxation of millions of dollars because of the institutions for the prosecution of crime. Are we to educate the youth to drunkenness, hypocrisy and crime?

With the same malicious boldness, the white man entered China with opium and poisoned that nation, and to-day we are killing the world's millions with rum. The influence of rum is the curse of heathen Africa. Her natives are cajoled by merchants with liquor into every conceivable degradation. The influence of this poison is the shame of that helpless nation, while the thieving white man continues to plunder her soil with armies in the name of Christianity and civilization. This, by allusion, is merely a reference to the lawless trend. At home, as a result of the saloon license, our penitentiaries

are crowded, our asylums are filled; the fallen women swarm like bees in the alleys and dungeons of disgrace. If we are going to stop lawlessness we must begin where it starts. Our pretenses of pride are false; our claim of honor is base; our allusion to greatness is barren, while in our midst we tolerate institutions of lying, liquor and thieving.

In this drama of wickedness, the plot, the cast and the designing characters are white men, whose love of money would bequeath to mankind a state of moral debauchery, a country of prostitutes, lunatics, criminals and thieves. So ardent has been their zeal, that they have included the Negro, that the last penny shall be wrung from society to assist and to complete its destruction. I don't believe in legal privileges that give one man the power to make a criminal of another. The Negro does not need a saloon. It would be an act of humanity, a blessing to the race, an atonement to God, if the authorities in every city in the Union, where liquor is sold by the Negro, would revoke such license. Because he (the Negro), being the weaker member of society, needs every force, every dollar and every man of his race to assist in building a defensive power in this age of special competition. It has been said, "It is better that the ninety and nine go free, than the conviction of one innocent man." It is better that a few selfish members of the race be deprived of their business privilege, if it calls for the sacrifice of their brother's honor, than

that a single man or woman of that race should suffer by such influence.

The toleration of degradation and crime in the Negro race is against the wishes of her intelligent members. The success of the Nation depends upon the enforcement of every law on the statute books against crime. The criminal element of each race is adverse to progress; and the interest of civilization is conserved by honest, fearless and expedient administration of Justice; therefore, let each man awake to duty, knowing the responsibility he owes to his home, his country and his God, which requires Love, Honor and Truth; for what will be an excuse for crime, will be a stain on the Nation's honor. A successful government cannot be run as long as the Nation is dishonest. The black man can assist the white man, the white man can help the black man, if the principles of right shall rule. If the dishonest Negro is chosen by the white man for an honorable post, because, as we say, "he can be used," what is the incentive for an honest man to upright conduct?

To be successful in this age, must a man be dishonest? It is said by many that the black man is dishonest. Let us see what is the incentive to make him honest. First, he meets the color line; second, he has no capital; and third, he is outlawed from industrial arts by organized labor, or the labor trust. He has nothing to start with; his parents are poor; and, as we might say, they were slaves and could give him no start. Fourth, he has an education. A strange condition and one without paral-

1el. His education calls for better living; it kindles the fires of his latent forces, it renews his energies until ambition arises to feel the keenest insult hurled in his way. Like a plant, he tries to grow, but the soil around him is barren: the color line, the empty pocket and the labor trust. What can he do? He wishes to live, not die. Often he is forced to leave the sphere of his longing to trample restless in the ways of poverty in search of bread. If he is employed as a porter, or a waiter, or as a similar servant, he has no chance to rise. Porters are always porters and waiters are always waiters. So, then, wherever employed, he fails to reach the position of trust. Is he honest, or is he dishonest? If dishonest, then another crime shall be added to the long list of indictments of the white race. Then if those who govern will prevent the growth of this plant life, what shall the future be? What shall the Negro do? The protection and defense of home must be strengthened. Our privilege to honorable living must not be denied. One's chances to become a man must increase with the age in which he lives.

Would to God that idleness could be erased from the face of the earth. It is the curse of any race or nation! With the Negro, as with the white man, we have this element to contend with. The spirit of honest men should be to force upon all society that condition which will require of all men responsibilities and duties relative to the condition of citizenship. The fact that a large popu-

lation exists which refuses to assume the burden of citizenship ought to bring forth rigid inquiry.

Moral cleanliness is as necessary as physical cleanliness. We may pave our streets, light our cities, establish costly sewerage, build good roads, erect fine homes, business blocks, etc., and rigidly enforce the discipline of public health, yet the work is but partly completed, and will not be until we suppress the mites and kill the vermin that affect the morals of our society. Beastly institutions of immorality exist, and have found a lodgment under legal sanction! Who says that criminal institutions can be legalized? Under what code does civilization license crime? Under the right of Divine Law, under the right of the Civil Code, all acts that are prejudicial to the peace and dignity of society are punishable by the rules of society. Therefore, those resorts that exist for the folly and vice of mankind, those places that establish prostitution, idleness and vicious pleasure, those places that offer money for a woman's honor, and sensuality for man's dignity, are the breeding places of immoral beings and the last ditch this side of hell. A nation without honor is the vilification of God! A woman without virtue is the infamy of hell! And yet we tolerate institutions among us that create them. So, then, it is confirmed that the strong shall lead the weak to right, to light, to happiness, and to usefulness.

The Negro Soldier

Chapter VIII.

TO read the history of the negro soldier is to dwell in Nature's sublimest attitude. For deeds of chivalry and heroism, history has failed to record events more touching than those that relate to him—a defender of the Nation and a contestant for freedom. His instincts for right have impelled his enlistment as a soldier in every conflict of our times.

He was with Washington's army, with Jackson at New Orleans, with Sherman at Atlanta, with Grant at Richmond. He was at Port Hudson, Milliken Bend, Fort Pillow, Fort Wagner and Petersburg. He was with Dewey at Manila, Sampson and Schley at Santiago, and the American forces in the Philippines. His blind zeal for duty leads him on to the Goal of Fame, where friend and foe alike laud his valor. He was never a traitor, nor a coward; he was always cheerful and content in the hours of trial; he was ever immune to the hardships of Fate; the miseries of war was but a trial of his endurance.

On the brightest pages of history we see the name of the noble Christopher Attucks—and he a Negro and a slave. 'Twas he who, with two others, shed the first blood on the altar of Liberty for American independence. He, grand and sublime in his noble effort, helped to withstand the attacks of the British and to overthrow their tyrannical rule. One of the most thrilling battles

was fought on the fifth of April, 1770, that of the "Boston Massacre," in which the Negro distinguished himself as an American soldier. With the spirit of immortal freedom he cries, "The way to get rid of these soldiers is to strike at the main guard! Strike at the root—this is the nest!" Thus the knot that held America a British subject was severed once and forever! Then like wild-fire the spirit of freedom spread. More than 3000 Negroes fought for the Nation's independence in her first struggle.

"The records of the War Department show that there were 178,595 colored men regularly enlisted as soldiers in the Union Army during the Rebellion, who, by good conduct, established a commendable record, and did efficient service in camp, fortress and field. The first enlistment of the Negroes was by General Hunter in the Department of the South in June, 1862. It was made without authority from the War Department, and was due to emergency." Thanks be to God that the mantle of courage, bravery and honor was a test of the black man's. He dared to face the cannon's mouth, defying death for the institution of law and government. He trod the bloody field of battle in hope of no reward save that the "Flag of the Free" should never trail in the dust, and willingly sacrificed his blood for the honor of his country. 'Twas a grand spectacle, these negro soldiers: a vast army, equipped with the Nation's cannon and backed by the principles of manhood. Ah! they waited impatient for the order to defend the Flag that had suf-

ferred their persecution. They felt that the stars of Old Glory were as true as the stars that shine; they knew her crimson stripes were the token of the blood of fallen heroes; they knew that the blue was the purity of the heavens. Hence, they never faltered, being righteous in heart and true in hope. They looked beyond the dim and tumult, and beheld the Glory of God and freedom of mankind!

When President Lincoln reviewed the black patriots on their way to the field of battle, as they marched through Washington, 20,000 strong, for the campaign of Virginia, he was struck by their soldierly bearing, their cheerful hopes for freedom and their "Hurrahs for Mr. Lincoln!" which meant the Union. The scene was enough to kindle the soul to emotions of great pity, and tears fell from the eyes of the noble Lincoln, who had been converted to the belief that the slave should be rewarded his freedom and that the question of the Union was a question of slavery.

Can any mind paint the picture of the deep enthusiasm of the Negro soldier in 1862? Events followed events, like the waves that sweep the restless sea. One day the Negro was a slave with chains about his feet, the next he was clad in the uniform of his country, and shortly he became acclaimed a hero and a martyr. When the order went forth giving him a citizen's right and a soldier's honor, his enthusiasm knew no bounds. By what shall we compare this new found hope of freedom? Shall it not be exalted courage, heroism, ardent zeal and true

bravery? O, tell me, pray, where human impulse ever beat with such deep penetration? Was this the spirit of the troops of Caesar as they laid waste to Carthage? Was it the courage of Hannibal and his million conquerors? Was it the feeling of Napoleon's army in his conquest of Europe? Was it the dominant will of Lord Cornwallis' men? The strength of the soldiers of Frederick the Great? No! None other than the famed heroism of George Washington and his patriots and the Blacks themselves as they marched forth in their immortal strength to defeat tyranny and oppression and to uphold law, order and the American Flag.

Like shaft of light, from noon-day sun,
With efforts heroic, a battle won!
Freedom kindled the black man's soul,
Justice his motto, Liberty his goal!
Enthusiasm built her fires at last
Where courage held her strong and fast!

His soul alive in battle array,
No strength e'er this power could stay!
The pent-up fury of raging storm
Sweeps its course from night till morn!
The thrill of ocean wave we see,
Awakes fond hope of liberty!

His strength moved his whole being into one inseparable courageous manhood. Heroism was but a synonym

for his valor, but an allusion to his courage. Back of him was the conviction of ultimate freedom for mankind.

With such pent-up forces the Negro soldier entered the battlefield, not with hollow mockery of soldier pomp, but freedom and liberty imbued in his soul. Thus he crowned the bloodstained field with the blood of a martyr!

When the first gun echoed the assault on Fort Sumpter, he was ready, he was willing; and he begged to be enlisted as a defender of the Nation. And when the last battle was fought he led the triumphant forces into wreaths of victory. Generous as a soldier and magnanimous as a foe, not chargeable to him is one deed of dishonor.

After the grim roar of the deafening cannon at Petersburg, the fame of the valiant negro troops was heralded to the world. Friends were jubilant, while foes were astounded at the strength of his courage. When the order "Charge!" went forth, not a man faltered. But on, and on, to duty! Freedom his reward! When the blood of the slave subdued the tyrant of slavery, Heaven proclaimed, from her highest portals, universal freedom for mankind!

'Twas a negro sergeant, William Casey, at Fort Wagner, carrying regimental colors of his battalion, who ascended the walls of that fort and planted the colors there. Amid shot and shell he kept the colors flying! He was wounded twice at his post, but when taken to

the hospital where his comrades lay wounded they cheered him and his colors; and although he was nearly exhausted from the loss of blood, he said, "Boys, the old flag never touched the ground." In every engagement the negro soldier was accredited with heroism.

On another occasion a negro sergeant, being commanded to protect, defend and die for the Flag, rather than surrender it, replied, "Colonel, I will bring these colors back to you in honor or report to God the reason why." At Port Hudson his colors were literally torn to pieces by shot and bespattered with brains and blood, and this noble hero died hugging the colors to his breast. At the battle of Wilson's Wharf, when the word "Fire!" went forth, southern chivalry quailed before the northern bullets by negro hands. Volley after volley rained upon the superior by the inferior race, and "chivalry broke to run." Thus endless are the deeds of honor accredited to the negro soldier, who knows no cause but Justice, and who loves no principle but right!

We call attention to the time when the cry "Cuba Libre" broke forth on the American tongue, and to the well-known fact how the negro soldier eagerly sought his place in advancing civilization. Thus proven is a fact that righteous hope of freedom dwells in the black man's soul. He organized to go forth in another land that the ends of Justice might be secured to a nation of down-trodden men. Again we see the sublime spectacle: face to face with Death, he earns the honored crown of hero. The battle of San Juan Hill is well known to

every reader of history. Negro troops were first to plant the Stars and Stripes on a Spanish fortress in Cuba. With rousing enthusiasm they, the Twenty-fifth Infantry (Negroes) charged the Spanish blockhouse at El Caney, July 1, 1898, and Private T. C. Butler, Company H, was the first man to enter it and take possession of the Spanish flag. This was a task of daring and courage that heralded again the fame of the negro troops around the world. It was near this place that the intrepid, resolute and fearless Theodore Roosevelt (now our ex-President), with others, owe their lives to the brave conduct of the negro regiments, the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry. That the spirit of the African race, from which came the negro soldier, possesses the deepest charms for liberty, that he has always vindicated that honor, I will quote one of America's greatest thinkers: "There never was a race held in actual chains that vindicated its own liberty, but one. There never was a serf, nor a slave whose own sword cut off his own chain, but one. Blue-eyed, light-haired Anglo-Saxon, it was not our race. We were serfs for three centuries; and we waited until commerce and Christianity and different laws had melted our fetters. We were crowded down into a village which crushed out our manhood so thoroughly that we had not vigor left to redeem ourselves. Neither France nor Spain, northern or southern races of Europe, have that bright spot on their escutcheon, that they put an end to their own slavery. Blue-eyed, haughty, contemptuous Anglo-Saxon, it was the black, the only race

on record of history, even after a century of oppression, retained the vigor to write the chapter of its emancipation with its own hand in the blood of the dominant race. Despised, calumniated, slandered San Domingo 'is the only instance in history where a race with indestructible love of liberty, after bearing a hundred years of oppression, rose up under their own leader and with their own hands wrested chains from their own limbs. Wait, garrulous, ignorant, boasting Saxon, till you have one-half as much before you talk of the black race.' "

The Negro's Faith

Chapter IX.

HAVING shown that lawlessness comes as a part of our inheritance, we will therefore consider with equal care that which becomes a tribute to our trend toward higher civilization.

First, Christianity: the right of religious freedom, has found her greatest liberties in the United States. The founders of this Government have shown their wisdom, courage and genius in adopting a constitution of religious tolerance; therefore, the growth of religious influence is commensurate with our development in every line of progress. Assembled in every community are the various sects of religious worship, without aught to mar their activities. No racial conflict of sects, no disqualifications, or discords because of belief; but for one and the same end, to save the soul—are their energies bent. In fact, the tendencies are for a universal belief; and, because of her freedom, the ascendancy of Christian influence becomes the general aim.

There is no question of vital importance which affects the Nation that can be amicably and properly settled without the influence of the church. This does not mean that the church dominates politics, but her membership and her influence are the strongest factors in modern legislation. Then, instead of hindering progress, herself both aggressive and free, she lends civilization her greatest power. For naught would be a worthy aim, a

national law or a compact, unless imbued with deep Christian principles; thus Christianity benefits mankind. In all we have 207,707 churches in the United States, with 32,283,658 communicants. It shows God's light and uplifting spirit, also progressiveness and strength. Thus we behold a Christian era and a Christian nation. That our record is unequaled, no one can dispute. From the 207,707 churches we see the grand spectacle of the negro Christian progress. There are 23,770 Negro churches, with seating capacity of six million, eight hundred thousand. It has 2,673,977 communicants; this property is valued at \$26,626,448. This is the triumphant march of progress since the birth of freedom! 'Tis the songs and prayers of these thousands in their praise to God that revealeth to mankind the depth of Divine love. They, like the patriots of old, from the mouth breatheth the spirit of the soul. Hence, every one loves to hear the Negro sing. In his sad moments the oracle of his voice is the depth of sublime inspiration. We were quiet, thoughtful and serene when from the stage he sang, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," and other melodies of pathos, with such harmony and spirit until the world was charmed with the beauty of the song—even were they sang in Europe. Again, in the pliant mood of happiness from him come the witticisms that startle all with laughter. Ragtime is a distinct character of negro genius and forms amusement for the world's millions. In our spirit of joyfulness we hail this negro wit in acclaimed happiness. It is this factor that marks the

Negroes' usefulness in the development of this growing Nation. The Nation is not going backward, but forward. She contributes millions in money annually for foreign missions—showing the breadth of our love for God and humanity. We hail His command, "Preach My gospel unto every creature." The revelation of God's spirit preserved the vital forces of the negro race during its period in slavery. Divine Providence delivered him! And his strength to-day enables him to grapple with the tide of modern progress. Christianity alone as an estate for the white man and the black man insures American progress, development and strength. What would the world be without her Savior? What would the Nation be without her God? All she has gained through centuries endless struggles, from barbarism to civilization, from heathendom to Christianity, from primitive hut to the palace of Arts, from the ox team to the veritable moving palace propelled by steam and electricity, from ancient to modern, would be lost unless maintained under the light and influence of Christianity.

EDUCATION.

Onward! Onward! Forever on,

O, great Eternal light!

This earth redeem! This earth redeem!

From dim of pagan night.

Lead on, O light! uplifting man

To ways of usefulness;

As long as day doth follow night,

Shine forth Eternal light!

With 254,076 public schools and 16,641,970 pupils and 439,596 teachers, the picture eclipses all other nations in magnitude of grandeur. Never before in the world's history has education been the property of every man. Nor can any man with a single thought imagine the onward sweep of her power.

The tide of education, like the million waves of the sea, carry us on and on and on. Perhaps, on the distant shores of yonder horizon, the edifice of knowledge will be the noon-tide of a generation of men, who in pride and power will reduce this earth and her laws to that final ecstatic life, where our civilization will reflect as tiny raindrops from the clouds of Celestial Sunshine. Education is the second bulwark of the Nation.

Of the total number of 16,641,970 pupils attending the public schools, more than a million are negro children; 1,096,734 attended public schools, 17,138 attended higher schools of learning. If anyone doubts the sincerity of the Negro to become permanent and useful, he need but visit his schoolroom. The pupils are bright, enthusiastic, scholarly and hopeful.

Their instructors are courageous, brave and honorable. With this balance of power bent upon upright conduct, it is needless to say that this Nation will become freer and nobler. Born in the school of adversities, reared in the home of trials and the throes of poverty, with fortune against him, he can but be strong for the conflict to come.

We have already produced one of the greatest charac-

ters of the century, the Hon. Booker T. Washington, a genius, a scholar, a philosopher, and a gentleman! To his credit we must attribute the adoption of one of the greatest schools of the century. And he is a Negro—and, furthermore, an ex-slave! He is practical, thorough and useful; so much so, that the world to-day places upon his head the honored crown of Doctor of Philosophy. He has carved the hard stone of Fate and found the instrument of man's most useful learning. To-day civilization is interested in the man and in his school.

Millions and millions annually are spent in the United States, for the education of her youths' scholarship in America is as necessary as the air one breathes; and as we progress, it becomes more and more important. If anyone doubts the future of America, we can but ask his consideration of the fact, that each day sixteen million children soar higher and higher in mental development. Each day, we may say, illiteracy becomes more and more extinct—illustrating the power of courage, freedom and independence. If, with all humility, each day we would offer to our Creator our deepest prayer for the departed heroes of American independence, it would but faintly answer in tokens of gratitude our respect for the founders of this estate. Nature, how wonderful! The seas, the skies, the earth, and all are made our useful agencies. The world was once to man obscure and doubtful. He dreaded the seas; the skies were a mystery to him; the earth was unknown. But, ah! to-day,

as God intended it to be, they are the powers of our resourcefulness.

The printing press, the railroads and electricity mark the days of modern progress. The seas, the skies, the earth and all have proven their worth through science to mankind. And her development continues. In scientific progress, America leads the world.

Our wealth can hardly be stated in figures, and continues to grow. In 1907, the wealth of the United States was \$116,000,000,000. The causes of these teeming millions each year to our vast resources are Christianity, science, industry and education. From a few old wooden crafts in 1860 to the most splendid navy in the world in 1908, is our advancement that astonishes civilization. From Hampton Roads to San Francisco we marshalled the greatest armada ever assembled under one flag; and today the nations of the earth are greeting this invincible force with acclamations of joy. Uncle Sam, "policeman of the ocean," is not saying too much. Above every Consulate in the world, wafted by the gentle breeze of the tropics and sub-tropics, by the winds of the Arctic and Antarctic, over forty-four States, over every public building, over every schoolhouse, from the mast-head of a thousand ships in every clime, floats Old Glory!

Wave on, O Flag of our bright hope

'Neath bright and stormy skies!

Wave on, our greatest powers awake

As rich thy colors fly.

No greater gift could God give man,
Or, man to man e'er give;
By every hope She's blessed to live.
Wave on, for every man!

Since the days of Washington, the Nation has shown a growing strength of independence, a spirit of progress and an aptitude for right and Justice. At times clouds of doubt have arisen to obscure the light. Men with destructive tendencies have come forth with treason in their hearts and destruction in their minds. But, like the pyramids of Egypt, the foundation of our State was built to stand the test. Scarcely was her foundation laid, when came the onslaught of cannon and fire. But ah! her foundation work was built upon the principles of self-conviction in the hearts of honest men: hence, it remained secure and firm. And the severity of the test only deepened the purpose of truthful minds to build higher, nobler and broader.

The pyramids of Egypt are built of stone, but the pyramids of the American Government are the noble principles of freedom built upon the hearts and deeds of honest men. The skill of the architect who erected these giant pyramids for the Pharoahs was no greater than the skill of the statesmen who compiled the American Constitution for the American citizen. The former planned with the brains of a thousand preceding years. Their plans were the genius of a pre-historic man. Our plan is the conformation of the world's greatest patriots

and thinkers, and dates from time immemorial. Their structure outlived a thousand generations; ours will withstand the coming ages. When we gaze upon her mighty columns, we are struck by their grandeur; when the future generations shall look upon our Constitution, a monument of human greatness, they will be inspired by its magnificence. Let Egypt's pyramids forever stand as an example of her civilization; and the American Constitution live through God's eternity. Then let us pay to the world our gratitude; to the old and to the new. For our victorious struggle for independence, to God we will give thanks; for a successful struggle for the Union to Him we will give praise; for our pilgrimage from a slave-ridden British subject to a nation of free thinking men, we shall bow in fervent worship to Him the Ruler of the Universe, and declare Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Monroe, Franklin et al., the builders of the American pyramids!

Our great men of today, Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, Booker T. Washington, Andrew Carnegie, Pierpont Morgan, C. W. Elliott of Harvard, John D. Rockefeller, E. H. Harriman, T. A. Edison, are the exponents of American energy and progressiveness.

A man should be proud of his birth as an American citizen. He should be enthusiastic as a freeholder of this great estate. It should be his aspiration to transmit to his posterity this inheritance in its entirety, more advanced, freer and nobler, with not a single act of his

life to blight her honor, nor a thought which might recoil against her greatness.

Jim Crowism, anarchism and all forms of disloyalty should not present a serious problem to honest men. In the future, as in the past, we have "steadily gained an ascendancy over mere brutal force; and irrepressible are the powers of moral suasion which emanate from the grandeur of the Nation's pyramids.

Philosophy of Nature

Chapter X.

O sing, ye muses sing, for joy!
The gladdened springtime praise.

WITH the Negro this is springtime. A newer life his soul doth sing. Nature bids him come forth again. O, Nations, heed his coming! You may strive with resolute power, you may hope with all of human aspirations, you may portray with genius and paint with sublime touch, but you cannot rob the sun of his glory, nor the stars of their brightness, nor vegetation of its budding beauty. So with the Negro, human strength, all genius combined, cannot destroy the soul that lives within.

In bondage youth he silent gave,
His mind alert on future gaze;
For shackles knew he soon must break,
And life anew his soul awake.

Like the Sun and the Stars, the powers of the universe are behind his efforts, his purpose and his will; so, therefore, he, too, must thrive. Then, O God, let Thy sun and Thy stars forever shine forth in their glory! Let each tree and each flower bloom forth in Thy splendor, let vegetation bud forth in Thy sweetness, and at last shall humanity come forth: the white man and the black man with advancing civilization in the fullness of Thy

eternal law! Let race prejudice live in its decaying palace and crumbling walls! Let it thrive its ill-timed life of vaunted pride in the jungle of small men's brains. Prejudice, unsustained by reason, or principle, is without support of Nature's simplest rule and cannot survive the fixed laws of the universe.

Its powers dwindle like the light of a fading sun; not the light of tomorrow, but the one of yesterday.

It appeals to the emptiness of caste, which sees not the beauty of the Eternal. Neither by its strength nor power shall it sway the opinion of mankind. Like the dimness of the parting sun, its wormeaten sceptre wasting will die. It shall pass away to the skies of the unknown.

I am bound by the decrees of Heaven to ask and demand Justice as a recognition of merit! And I ask the wisdom of mankind to confirm that plea! It is not the advancement of the Negro so much as it is the advancement of civilization I ask. Let him go ahead so that he will not hinder progress. A million youthful eyes today are watching, waiting, eager to bloom forth—a new life of usefulness to bless this earth in the sweetness of their lives. Shall their coming be?

O cherished sweetness, month of May!
Thy peeping buds have fullest sway;
Our open hearts and loving hands
Smile and greet thy coming bands.

It is not a question of which race will dominate in America, but a question of the principles of the men

who rule. The southern white man bears a deep resemblance to the Indian in this comparison. It is said, that when the Indian showed the white man Niagara Falls, he uttered in his dialect the superstition of his race. The southern white man in speaking of the Negro, writing about the Negro, and lecturing about the Negro, repeats in his dialect the superstition of his race. Well, if you compare the Indian's superstition in his ignorance of the great Niagara with the ignorance and superstition of the southern white man concerning the great potential powers of the black race, we should have enough philosophy to keep us laughing a year.

Niagara today furnishes light for twenty million people, and motive power for the largest manufacturing center in the world. Its capability is that of many thousand tons of fuel energy of coal every year, which represents millions of dollars annually to the wealth of New York state. The Indian was afraid of this abundance of wealth. It required brains and intellect to develop the powers of Niagara, this inexhaustible supply of one-time wasted energy.

So with the Negro, the southern Niagara, brains and intelligence must come forth to develop this inexhaustible supply of wasting power. Chain to him education; control the useful factors of his energies with honest legislation, just as capitalists have proven their wisdom in building levees and machinery to control Niagara.

It is the vigorous spirit of progression which develops brains instead of fear, that made Niagara one of the

principal wealth creators of the world. It was the application of that intelligence that made the wasting energies of a mighty river the magic power of excessive wealth. It is this characteristic of New York state that makes her the world's money market. People go to New York to get ideas. How about the Niagara of the South? A mighty flow of human energy wasting! They fear it! They hate it! The roar of its wasting energies is the nightmare of impending doom! A thousand times stronger than Niagara, these hardened muscles of ten million people, alert, active, alive, ready for the interposition of useful brains. With this vast power of energy, why not the South, like New York, harness her wealth with brains and steel, and let this energy develop the resourcefulness of her fertile soil?



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